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Ethnicity, youth cultural participation, and cultural reproduction in the Netherlands

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Abstract

The purpose of this research is the explanation of differences in cultural participation of adolescents of different ethnic backgrounds. Six hundred ninety-eight Dutch and ethnic minority adolescents in a large city in the Netherlands filled in a questionnaire about their active cultural participation (e.g., playing musical instruments, dancing, acting, drawing) and receptive cultural participation (e.g., going to classical concerts, plays, museums). The expected lower cultural participation among minority youth (i.e., youth whose parents had both been born in Morocco, Turkey or former Dutch colonies such as Surinam and the Dutch Antilles) was limited to Moroccan and Turkish youths' receptive cultural participation. Contrary to the acculturation hypothesis, we did not find any indication of a growing resemblance in youth cultural participation between the different ethnic groups. In keeping with Bourdieu's reproduction theory, it was examined whether well-educated parents with ample cultural capital raise children who are also successful in acquiring educational and cultural capital. The findings suggest that mothers play a key role. Mothers exert a far greater cultural influence on their daughters than on their sons. Moreover, the cultural influence of mothers on daughters

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is much stronger than that of fathers. We conclude that intergenerational cultural reproduction affects Dutch and ethnic minority children in the same way.

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1. Introduction

The cultural integration of ethnic minority youth is a source of concern in the Netherlands, as it appears that they scarcely use existing cultural resources. Little is known about their cultural preferences, or about those of ethnic minority adults (Campbell et al., 1995; Van den Hoogen and Van den Berg, 1997). To date, most Dutch research on cultural participation has been limited to the nonminority population (De Haan and Knulst, 2000; Ganzeboom, 1989; Kloosterman and Rath, 1996; Ter Bogt and Van Praag, 1992; Van Beek and Knulst, 1991; Van den Broek and Huysmans, 2003; Van Wel et al., 1994). The findings of these studies indicate that Dutch youth generally show little interest in the higher forms of art and culture; the vast majority reserve their enthusiasm for manifestations of youth or mass culture. Research has also shown that Dutch adolescents receiving upper-level (e.g., pre-university) secondary education demonstrate greater interest in, or are at least less negative about, high arts and culture compared with their peers in lower-level education, and that girls show more interest than boys. Between the ages of 12 and 17 years, girls engage in more artistic activities than boys (e.g., playing music, dancing, acting, weaving, drawing); girls also attend more artistic performances and visit more cultural institutions (e.g., classical concerts, the theater, museums). This gender difference in high-culture activity appears to persist into adulthood, not only in the Netherlands but also in other western countries, such as Sweden (Bihagen and Katz-Gerro, 2000).

Some authors emphasize the importance of children's experiences at school as a determinant of cultural participation, whereas others focus on cultural transmission within the family (Ganzeboom and De Graaf, 1991a, 1991b; Knulst, 1989). According to Van Eijck (1997), parents' cultural resources are the most important determinant of the cultural participation of their children. Nagel and Ganzeboom (2002) found that family influences are about three times as strong as the effects of secondary school, and that these effects on cultural participation are fairly stable from adolescence through adulthood. Van Beek and Knulst (1991) and Nagel (2002, 2004) observed that the example set by mothers is a key factor; these authors found a particularly strong connection between the cultural participation of mothers and that of their children. Friends can also inspire cultural enthusiasm, but according to De Waal (1989) young people tend to discourage each other from embracing higher forms of art and culture.

The existing research thus indicates that cultural participation by Dutch youth is associated with gender, educational level, and the cultural interests of family members, especially mothers. So far little attention has been given to ethnicity as a factor in cultural participation. However, American researchers have investigated ethnicity in relation to leisure allocation; this research indicates that members of ethnic minorities show low levels of participation in most forms of recreation outside the home. These low levels of minority participation are usually explained within the framework of the marginality-ethnicity paradigm (Carr and Williams, 1993; Floyd and Gramann, 1993; Hutchison, 1987, 1988;

Stamps and Stamps, 1985; Washburne, 1978). Unfortunately, researchers have paid no specific attention to cultural participation as defined here.

Although researchers in the Netherlands have paid little attention to ethnicity as a factor in cultural participation, in political circles interest in this subject has been growing over the past decade owing to the imminent social disintegration of minority youth. Based on the assumption that cultural participation promotes social integration, the Dutch Ministry of Education, Culture, and Sciences launched a cultural stimulation program in 2000, targeted mainly at youth and ethnic minorities (Liefink and Poll, 2002). This program's special focus on ethnic minority youth grew out of the idea that tensions surrounding their social integration, manifested in disproportionately high crime rates (Junger-Tas, 1998), are indicative of weak ties to Dutch culture.

The Netherlands is experiencing changes in its ethnic composition. In the 1960s and 1970s, thousands of Moroccan and Turkish laborers migrated to the Netherlands. In the 1980s, the Netherlands started admitting the wives and children of these laborers as immigrants, leading to a sharp increase in the ethnic minority population. In the 1970s, there was also considerable immigration from former Dutch colonies such as Surinam and the Netherlands Antilles. Although the overall percentage of ethnic minorities in the Netherlands is still small (9%), these immigrant groups have established themselves primarily in the four largest Dutch cities: Amsterdam, Rotterdam, The Hague, and Utrecht. In the last city, which was the setting for this research, 36% of youth aged 12–18 years are of Moroccan (20%), Turkish (10%), or Surinam/Antillean (6%) descent (Bestuursinformatie Gemeente Utrecht, 2000).

In the context of the recent political interest in cultural participation by adolescents in general and ethnic minority youth in particular, we investigated the cultural participation of minority and nonminority youth in Utrecht in 2002. Utrecht was chosen because a large-scale study comparing the cultural participation of Dutch and ethnic minority youth was conducted in this city nine years earlier (in 1993; Van Wel et al., 1994; Van Wel et al., 1996). The findings of the 1993 study showed that only certain subgroups of ethnic minority youth (e.g., those of Moroccan descent) had extremely low rates of participation in high culture. Among the youth with Dutch-born parents, girls were more culturally active than boys; however, no such gender difference was observed for ethnic minority youth. As in the studies by Van Beek and Knulst (1991) and Nagel (2002), the mother was found to be the key figure in the cultural participation of Dutch boys and girls; this was observed for ethnic minority as well as Dutch youth.

In the follow-up study presented here, it was investigated whether the most important factors which prior research has shown to be related to youth cultural participation generally (e.g., gender, educational level, cultural participation of family members) can also account for the cultural participation of minority youth. Four major questions were examined:

1. Are the differences between minority youth (i.e., those of Moroccan, Turkish, or Surinam/Antillean descent) and youth with Dutch-born parents in active cultural participation (e.g., drawing, acting) and receptive cultural participation (e.g., attending concerts, visiting museums) the same as in 1993? On the one hand, since the former colonies of Surinam and the Netherlands Antilles have (compared to Morocco and

Turkey) relatively close connections with Dutch society, in 1993 we expected and found minor differences in cultural participation between Surinam/Antillean youth and youth with Dutch-born parents. On the other hand, since most of the Moroccan migrant families in the Netherlands came from the most remote rural parts of Morocco (e.g., the Rif mountains; Feddema, 1992), we expected and found relatively low levels of cultural participation among Moroccan adolescents. Half of the minority respondents to the 1993 study had been born outside of the Netherlands, whereas in the present study a substantially smaller proportion (less than a quarter) of the minority respondents had been born in another country. Hence, most of the minority respondents in the present study had been born and raised in the Netherlands and were presumably better acculturated (Berry and Sam, 1997) in Dutch society than the minority respondents of nine years earlier. Therefore, we expected minor differences in cultural participation between minority youth and nonminority youth in the present sample.

2. Are there differences in cultural participation between boys and girls of different ethnic backgrounds? In line with other Dutch research (Ter Bogt and Van Praag, 1992), the findings of our 1993 study indicated that, among youth with Dutch-born parents, girls were culturally more enterprising than boys. Our prediction in 1993 was that this would not be the case for minority girls, especially in the case of receptive cultural participation, because Turkish and Moroccan parents, most of whom abide by the tenets of traditional Islam, do not readily permit their adolescent daughters to participate in cultural activities outside the home. No such gender difference was found among minority youth; this finding held (as predicted) in the domain of receptive cultural participation, and also in the domain of active cultural participation. In line with the acculturation hypothesis formulated in relation to our first research question, and in line with the pattern found for nonminority youth in the 1993 study, which we also expected to find in the present study, we expected minority girls to be more culturally active than minority boys.
3. What is the role of education and the family in cultural transmission? Levels of cultural participation by minority youth may be related to their overrepresentation in lower-level secondary schools (e.g., vocational education), which provide little cultural stimulation; in this case, educational ‘marginality’ (i.e., overrepresentation at the lower end of the educational system), not ethnicity, would be the determining factor. In line with the findings of prior research (Van Beek and Knulst, 1991; Van Wel, 1998), however, we expected that the cultural influence of the educational system would be weaker than that of the family system. We tested a structural model of youth cultural participation distinguishing various clusters of factors (Fig. 1). The first cluster pertained to age, gender, and ethnicity, three variables that could influence all other variables in the model. The second and third clusters concerned the educational level and cultural participation of the mother and the father, respectively. In line with Bourdieu (1984) reproduction theory, we expected each parent’s educational level to influence his or her own cultural behavior. Moreover, the educational level and cultural behavior of the two parents are almost certain to exhibit a positive correlation. (Correlations are depicted in the model as double arrows.) We explored the extent to which these family variables might influence a youth’s scholastic performance as well as cultural participation both in and outside school. We also examined the intergenerational reproduction of

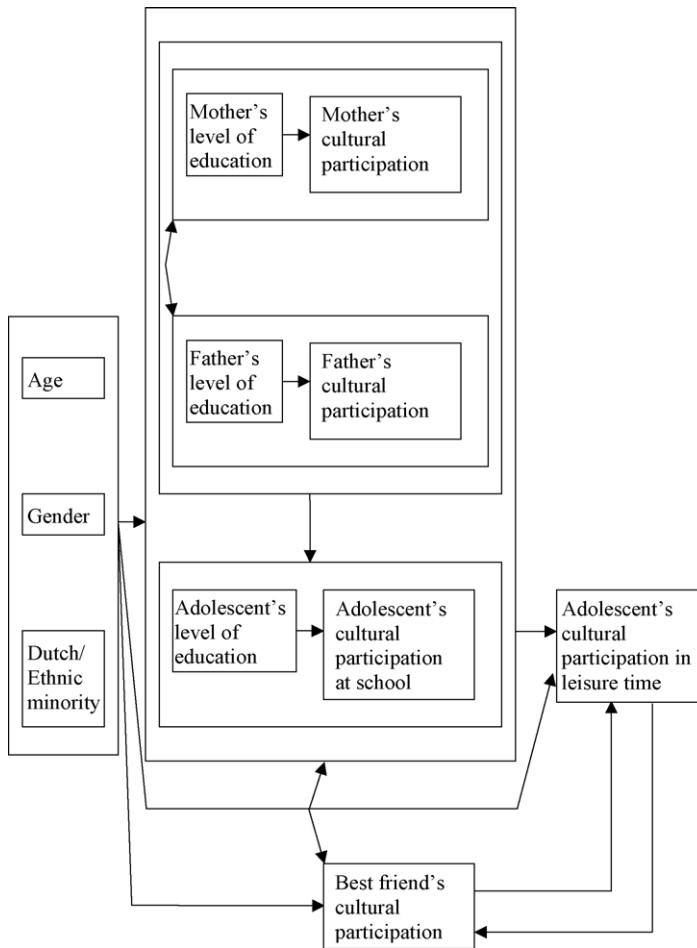


Fig. 1. Structural model of influences on youth cultural participation.

educational and cultural capital (Bourdieu, 1997; Bourdieu and Passeron, 1977; DiMaggio, 1982; Nagel, 2004; Sullivan, 2002). In keeping with reproduction theory, we investigated whether well-educated parents with ample cultural capital raise children who are also successful in acquiring educational and cultural capital. According to De Graaf et al. (2000) and De Graaf and De Graaf (2002), parents with relatively high rates of cultural participation, like parents who read relatively frequently, tend to have children who do significantly better in school. In line with prior research (Van Beek and Knulst, 1991; Nagel, 2002, 2004; Van Wel et al., 1996), we hypothesized that the mother would be the central role model in the cultural domain. Extending reproduction theory, we predicted that cultural participation by adolescents during leisure time would be influenced not only by family and educational factors, but also by peers. Hence, the cultural behavior of the youth's best friend was also included in the model. We

hypothesized reciprocity in this case, that is, mutual influence between the cultural participation of adolescents and that of their best friends.

4. Do the sources of influence on youth cultural participation (e.g., the cultural behavior of their fathers and mothers) differ among youth of different ethnic backgrounds, genders, and ages? We hypothesized that the influence of parents in the cultural domain would be weaker in the case of older adolescents. Furthermore, we expected that intergenerational reproduction would influence Dutch and ethnic minority youth in different ways. It is possible that the transfer of culture might operate less effectively in ethnic minority families, for instance, because ethnic minority parents are more oriented towards the culture of their native country, whereas their children may be more interested in Dutch culture and unwilling to follow their parents' example. There is some evidence that the cultural transfer between the generations functions less effectively in ethnic minority families than in other Dutch families (Van Iperen, 2003). As a result, we expected less intergenerational similarity in cultural participation in ethnic minority families than in other Dutch families.

2. Method

2.1. Sample

The study was conducted in 2002 in the city of Utrecht. This city has 235,000 residents and is one of the four largest cities in the Netherlands. By concentrating on a single area, we controlled for local variations in external circumstances, such as the supply of cultural activities, that might influence cultural participation. Moreover, the analyses presented here included only respondents from two-parent families and who indicated that they had a best friend. In all, 698 adolescents participated in the study, 321 (46%) boys and 377 (54%) girls. They varied in age from 12 to 18 years ($M = 13.8$).

The respondents were pupils from 42 classes at five comprehensive secondary schools. We selected primarily 1st classes of each school and most of the highest classes. This was done to measure the effect of age on cultural participation, since earlier studies have shown this effect to be significant (Van Wel, 1998). Twenty-two percent of the pupils were enrolled in a lower vocational or lower general secondary education program, 53% in a higher general secondary or pre-university program, and the remaining 25% in an intermediate-level secondary education program. These five schools may be considered representative of the fourteen secondary schools in Utrecht. An indicator for this is the fact that the percentage of the respondents from ethnic minorities corresponds well with population records of the city of Utrecht (Bestuursinformatie Gemeente Utrecht, 2000).

Forty-four percent of the respondents were from ethnic minorities. Respondents were classified as members of an ethnic minority if they and at least one of their parents had been born outside the Netherlands, or if both parents had been born abroad and they themselves had been born in the Netherlands. (This definition also includes immigrants from former Dutch colonies such as Surinam and the Dutch Antilles who are Dutch citizens.) Twenty-one percent of the respondents were of Moroccan descent, 10% of Turkish descent, 5% of Surinam/Antillean descent, and 7% from other countries. Nearly a quarter (23%) of the

ethnic minority respondents had been born outside the Netherlands, but all spoke and read the Dutch language fluently.

The group of respondents was adequately representative of the youth living in Utrecht in terms of ethnicity and educational level; however, a somewhat larger proportion of girls participated than would be expected based on population records ([Bestuursinformatie Gemeente Utrecht, 2000](#)). Outside the four largest Dutch cities, the proportion of adolescents from minority groups is substantially lower, making it difficult to discern reliable ethnic differences in cultural participation.

2.2. Measures

The respondents were asked to complete a questionnaire at school during regular class hours. The teacher and (in most cases) one of the researchers were present during administration of the questionnaire. Respondents were asked about their cultural participation in 19 domains. *Active* cultural participation was represented by nine domains: playing music; singing; dancing; drawing or painting; photography, video or film-making; weaving; writing (poetry or short stories); sculpting; and acting. As such, the questionnaire covered all domains of active cultural participation that are typically included in research of this type ([Van Beek and Knulst, 1991](#)), with the addition of one domain: writing. Ten domains of *receptive* cultural participation were investigated, including six domains of classical cultural participation: visiting museums or exhibitions; attending classical concerts or operas; attending plays or other stage performances; attending ballet or other traditional dance performances; attending choir performances; and visiting buildings of cultural interest such as castles. The first four of these domains correspond to [Van Beek and Knulst \(1991\)](#) instrument; the last two categories (attending choir performances and visiting buildings of cultural interest) were added. We also asked the respondents about their receptive cultural participation in four domains of modern popular culture: going to pop concerts; music or dance festivals; cabaret or stand-up comedy; and the cinema.

In examining these 19 domains of active and receptive cultural participation, we used a trans-cultural conceptual scope, i.e., categories that are not affected by cultural variations. For instance, although there is a world of difference between Turkish folk dance and modern dance, both were categorized as dance. The adolescents were asked which active domains they engaged in, and which receptive domains they had engaged in during the past year. They were also asked about social context, that is, whether they had participated in a school context (i.e., at or organized by their school) or in an extracurricular context (i.e., alone, with friends, with relatives, or at a community center). For each of the 19 cultural domains in each social context, respondents indicated whether or not they had participated (0 = no; 1 = yes). Two global scores were computed for active cultural participation and two for receptive cultural participation. The two global scores for active cultural participation were calculated by summing scores over the nine domains in the school context and the extracurricular context. (For each score, the possible range of values was 0–9; for instance, if a respondent was active in a particular domain in more than one extracurricular context, the score for this domain was 1.) Similarly, the two global scores for receptive participation were calculated by summing the six traditional domains of receptive participation separately for the two social contexts (yielding scores ranging in

value from 0 to 6). The receptive participation scores did not include the four domains of modern popular culture.

The respondents also indicated whether their father, mother, and best friend participated in each of the 19 cultural domains; for each person in each domain, the answer was no (0) or yes (1). (Respondents were not asked about the social context of cultural participation by their father, mother, and best friend.) Global scores for active and receptive cultural participation were also computed for the father, mother, and best friend, by summing the same sets of cultural domains used for the respondent's participation. Respondents also indicated the educational level of their parents, scored as low (1 = lower vocational/general secondary education), medium (2 = medium vocational/secondary education/pre-university education), or high (3 = higher professional education/university).

3. Results

3.1. *Research question 1*

Table 1 displays the respondents' cultural participation in relation to ethnic background. There were some significant differences between the Dutch and the ethnic minority respondents regarding their active cultural participation, that is, their own cultural activities. These differences mainly concerned working with textiles and singing, which more Moroccan and Turkish respondents reported engaging in. Compared to Dutch youth, more Moroccan youth engaged in writing and fewer in playing musical instruments, and fewer Surinam and Antillean youth engaged in drawing. As regards the average overall number of active cultural activities, there were no significant differences between the Dutch and the ethnic minority respondents. Hence, there appears to be no ethnic gap in active cultural participation.

There were more ethnic differences in receptive cultural participation, that is, going to cultural events or institutions. This was especially true for Moroccan and Turkish respondents, fewer of whom reported going to museums, plays, cabaret performances, films, or buildings of cultural interest as compared with Dutch respondents. On the whole, it appears that Moroccan and Turkish youth clearly made less use of cultural facilities in the six traditional domains than did Dutch youth. Surinam and Antillean youth, as well as members of other ethnic minorities, occupied an intermediate position in this respect.

3.2. *Research question 2*

Our results suggest a gap between Dutch youth, on the one hand, and Moroccan and Turkish youth, on the other, particularly in receptive cultural participation. A different picture emerged, however, when the results for girls and boys of various ethnic backgrounds were examined separately. We confined our investigation to comparing Dutch with Moroccan youth, as the latter constitute by far the largest group of ethnic minority youth in Utrecht, and one of the least active groups in receptive cultural participation. Fig. 2, which depicts active cultural participation by ethnicity and gender, reveals that Dutch youth showed large gender differences in active cultural participation, deviating

Table 1
Cultural participation in leisure time by ethnicity (percentages)^a

Cultural activities	Dutch (<i>n</i> = 394)	Moroccan (<i>n</i> = 148)	Turkish (<i>n</i> = 71)	Surinam/Antillean (<i>n</i> = 34)	Other countries (<i>n</i> = 51)	Total (<i>n</i> = 698)
Active cultural participation (percentage who engaged in)						
1. Playing musical instrument	38	29	30	41	39	36
2. Singing	54	74	68	62	65	61
3. Dancing (folk/ballroom, ballet)	45	53	55	53	51	48
4. Drawing, painting	54	51	51	32	53	52
5. Photography, making videos	67	67	66	68	75	67
6. Textile arts and crafts	7	11	15	–	18	9
7. Writing poetry or stories	31	51	37	44	43	37
8. Acting	24	25	25	12	27	24
9. Making ceramics or jewelry, sculpting	21	20	18	12	22	20
Average number of activities (1–9)	3.4	3.8	3.6	3.2	3.9	3.5
Receptive cultural participation (percentage who visited in past year)						
1. Museum or exhibition	55	28	31	32	49	45
2. Play or other stage performance	43	14	25	26	27	33
3. Ballet or other dance	21	23	8	24	14	20
4. Classical music concert or opera	11	9	4	6	6	9
5. Choir performance	11	6	7	12	14	10
6. Buildings of cultural interest	34	18	15	24	31	28
7. Film	93	82	85	85	92	90
8. Pop concert	37	34	42	41	35	37
9. Music/dance event or festival	51	54	39	65	53	51
10. Cabaret, stand-up comedian	17	8	4	21	14	14
Average number of activities (1–6)	1.8	1.0	0.9	1.2	1.4	1.5

^a Comparison of participation of Dutch and ethnic minority youth (*t*-tests, *p* < 0.05); percentage in bold means ethnic minority group significantly > Dutch group; percentage in bold + italics means ethnic minority group significantly < Dutch group.

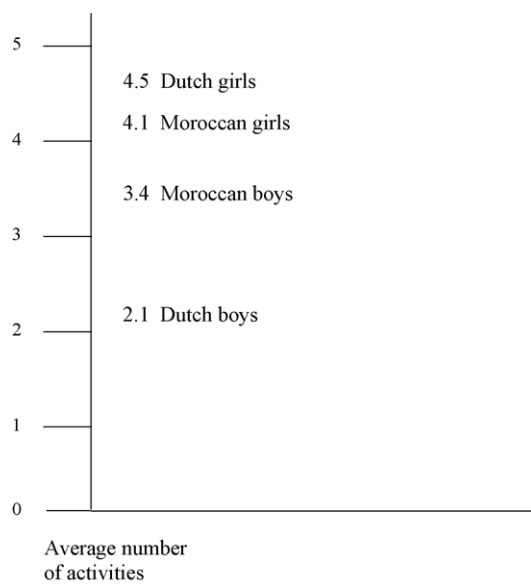


Fig. 2. Active cultural participation by ethnicity and gender.

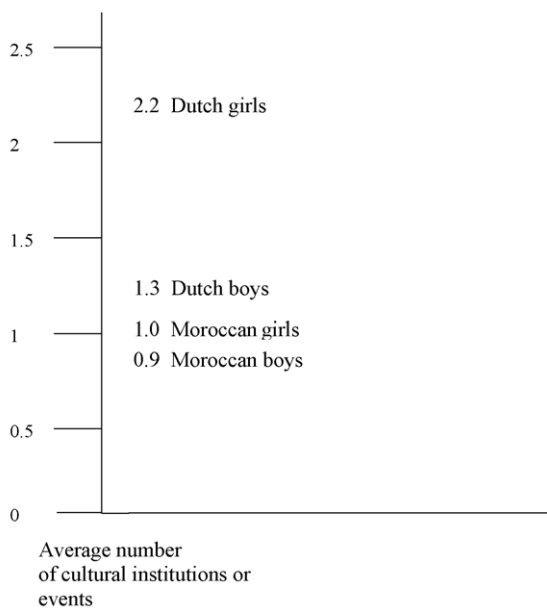


Fig. 3. Receptive cultural participation by ethnicity and gender.

upwards as well as downwards relative to the Moroccan youth. Dutch boys were least active (Scheffé test, $p < 0.05$) and Dutch girls were most active, followed closely by Moroccan girls. Moroccan boys occupied an intermediate position in this respect. Regarding receptive cultural participation in the six classical domains (Fig. 3), Dutch girls were once again more active than the rest (Scheffé test, $p < 0.05$), engaging in by far the most cultural activities outside the home. Comparisons involving the other groups did not reveal any significant differences.

3.3. *Research question 3*

A comprehensive model of possible influences on youth cultural participation, which includes gender and ethnicity variables, is presented in Section 1. This model may shed new light on intermediary factors and in this way help clarify the relationships between these background variables and adolescents' cultural participation. Using LISREL 8 (Jöreskog and Sörbom, 1993), we established an appropriate model much like the conceptual model in Fig. 1 ($\chi^2 = 60.42$, d.f. = 53, $p = 0.23$, standardized root mean square residual = 0.027, adjusted goodness of fit index = 0.97, critical $N = 715.91$; analysis based on the covariance matrix of 16 variables for 542 respondents). Cultural participation was represented in the model as two variables: active cultural participation and receptive cultural participation. We expected that persons showing more active cultural participation would also show more receptive cultural participation. (We did not assume any causal relations in this respect, only positive correlations.) We focused once again on the largest group of ethnic minority youth, those of Moroccan descent. The results are presented in Table 2. We will discuss the most important paths in the model below.

Neither age nor ethnicity appeared to have a direct influence on the respondents' active cultural participation in their leisure time. Only the respondents' gender showed a direct effect on active cultural participation: Girls engaged in far more cultural activities than boys. The total influence of gender was even greater, because girls gave higher estimates of the cultural activity of their parents and best friends than did boys, and the latter variables in turn showed effects on the respondent's own level of cultural activity. A similar (but clearly weaker) gender effect was also evident in receptive cultural participation. Age played a modest role in that older adolescents reported engaging in more cultural activities outside the home. Although there was no direct relation between ethnicity and receptive cultural participation, there was a considerable indirect one. Ethnicity appears to have influenced receptive cultural participation through a number of intermediate links. The most important explanatory link is the mother. The mothers of Moroccan youth were generally less educated, and as a consequence less likely to engage in cultural activities outside the home, than the mothers of Dutch youth; and the less mothers engaged in cultural activities, the less their children did. Similar but considerably weaker effects were evident in relation to fathers.

Mothers appeared to serve as a clear example or stimulus for their children's active and receptive cultural participation. Young people with culturally active mothers tended to follow suit. Fathers and best friends also appeared to exert (favorable or unfavorable) influences; these effects were more or less comparable to each other, but much weaker than those observed for mothers. Also, girls reported higher cultural participation by their best

Table 2
Influences on youth cultural participation (path analyses)^a

Influences	Mother						Father						Adolescent at school						Best friend				Adolescent in leisure time				
	Level of edu- cation		Culturally active		Culturally receptive		Level of edu- cation		Culturally active		Culturally receptive		Level of education		Culturally active		Culturally receptive		Culturally active		Culturally receptive		Culturally active		Culturally receptive		
	D	T	D	T	D	T	D	T	D	T	D	T	D	T	D	T	D	T	D	T	D	T	D	T	D	T	
Background variables																											
Age	n.s.	n.s.	n.s.	n.s.	n.s.	n.s.	n.s.	n.s.	n.s.	n.s.	n.s.	n.s.	n.s.	n.s.	−0.31	−0.31	n.s.	n.s.	−0.09	−0.09	0.07	0.08	n.s.	n.s.	0.09	0.10	
Gender (boy–girl)	n.s.	n.s.	0.15	0.15	0.14	0.14	n.s.	n.s.	0.15	0.15	0.10	0.10	n.s.	n.s.	n.s.	n.s.	n.s.	n.s.	0.28	0.33	0.12	0.14	0.27	0.39	0.08	0.18	
Ethnicity (Dutch–Moroccan)	−0.40	−0.40	n.s.	−0.05	−0.30	−0.41	−0.42	−0.42	n.s.	−0.08	−0.17	−0.32	−0.38	−0.49	n.s.	−0.07	0.15	0.15	0.10	0.10	n.s.	n.s.	n.s.	n.s.	n.s.	−0.24	
Mother and father																											
Educational level mother	−	−	0.12	0.12	0.28	0.28	−	−	−	−	−	−	0.11	0.16	n.s.	n.s.	n.s.	n.s.	−	−	−	−	−0.08	−0.05	n.s.	0.11	
Culturally active mother	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−0.13	−0.13	0.19	0.19	0.15	0.15	−	−	−	−	0.26	0.27	0.10	0.10	
Culturally receptive mother	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	0.27	0.27	n.s.	n.s.	n.s.	n.s.	−	−	−	−	n.s.	n.s.	0.34	0.34	
Educational level father	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	0.18	0.18	0.35	0.35	n.s.	n.s.	n.s.	n.s.	n.s.	n.s.	−	−	−	−	n.s.	n.s.	n.s.	0.06	
Culturally active father	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	n.s.	n.s.	n.s.	n.s.	n.s.	n.s.	−	−	−	−	0.14	0.14	n.s.	n.s.	
Culturally receptive father	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	n.s.	n.s.	n.s.	n.s.	n.s.	n.s.	−	−	−	−	n.s.	n.s.	0.17	0.19	
Adolescent at school																											
Educational level adolescent	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	0.12	0.12	n.s.	n.s.	−	−	−	−	n.s.	n.s.	0.07	0.07	
Culturally active	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	n.s.	n.s.	n.s.	n.s.	
Culturally receptive	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	n.s.	n.s.	n.s.	n.s.	
Best friend																											
Culturally active	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	0.16	0.16	n.s.	n.s.	
Culturally receptive	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	0.09	0.09	0.12	0.12	
Adolescent in leisure time																											
Culturally active	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	0.12	0.12	−	−	−	−	−	−	
Culturally receptive	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	0.10	0.10	−	−	−	
R ²	0.16		0.04		0.25		0.18		0.05		0.21		0.30		0.14		0.04		0.22		0.10		0.43		0.46		

^a Standardized β coefficients. D = direct effect; T = total effect (indirect effect: T–D); n.s.: nonsignificant effects (significant effects: t -value $> |1.96|$, $p < 0.05$, resp. $\beta \geq |0.05|$). Symbol ‘–’: effects excluded in the path model.

friends than did boys. This was particularly true for active cultural participation, as already observed in relation to the respondents' own cultural participation. The older the respondent, the more likely he or she was to give higher estimates of the best friend's receptive cultural participation and lower estimates of the best friend's active participation. Finally, compared to Dutch youth, Moroccan youth gave higher estimates of the best friend's active cultural participation.

The model also includes the influence of the school. It is possible that culturally active schools have a compensatory effect, especially on youth whose homes have not made a sizeable cultural contribution. With all of the other influences included in the model, neither educational level nor cultural activities at school added much to the explanation of youth cultural participation during leisure time. In the area of active cultural participation, there was no influence at all; educational level did, however, show a modest effect on receptive cultural participation. Young people who attended a higher-level school were more likely to attend cultural events and institutions in an extracurricular context. In contrast, the educational level of parents showed a clear positive effect on their own cultural activities, especially their receptive cultural participation.

Young people with a culturally active mother exhibited higher levels of active and receptive cultural participation, not only during leisure time, but also in school. Younger respondents, and those attending higher-level secondary schools, tended to report more school-related active cultural participation. Compared with Dutch youth, Moroccan youth said they made more use of cultural facilities at their school.

Educational level is strongly related to ethnicity in the Netherlands. Moroccan youth generally attend lower-level schools than Dutch youth. Here again, mothers appear to play an important role. The mother's – and not the father's – educational level and cultural participation contributed to the explanation of the respondent's level of education. Mothers who were poorly educated, or whose receptive cultural participation was more limited – and, strikingly, mothers whose active cultural participation was ample – all tended to have children who received education at a lower level. Considering this, the total effect of ethnicity on adolescents' educational level appears even more negative.

Altogether, this structural model explains a reasonably high proportion of variance in adolescents' leisure-time cultural participation: 43% in the case of active cultural participation, and 46% in the case of receptive cultural participation.

3.4. Research question 4

The structural model presented here was investigated for the group of respondents as a whole. It is possible that the strength of the observed relations would differ if we compared certain groups such as Dutch and Moroccan youth, or boys and girls. Table 3 displays the results of multi-group analyses focused on the influence of both parents on adolescents' active and receptive cultural participation in their leisure time. The analyses show that, although the link between the cultural behavior of Moroccan youth and their mothers was somewhat weaker than that observed for Dutch youth in receptive cultural participation, this difference was not large enough to be significant. The influence of mothers on adolescents' active and receptive cultural participation during leisure time is thus not reliably smaller in Moroccan than in Dutch families. It appears – as is the case in Dutch

Table 3

Parental influence on youth cultural participation in leisure time (multi-group analyses)^a

Source of influence	Ethnicity (<i>n</i> = 542)		Gender (<i>n</i> = 698)		Age (years) (<i>n</i> = 698)		Total (<i>n</i> = 698)
	Dutch	Moroccan	Boys	Girls	11–13	14–18	
Active cultural participation ^b							
Mother	0.35	0.38	0.22	0.41	0.40	0.34	0.36
Father	0.25	0.15	0.32	0.16	0.20	0.20	0.21
Receptive cultural participation ^c							
Mother	0.47	0.21	0.31	0.49	0.42	0.43	0.44
Father	0.20	0.26	0.30	0.18	0.23	0.22	0.22

^a Significant differences in size of standardized β coefficients ($p < 0.05$): for total sample: influence of receptive cultural participation of mother > father; for girls: influence of active cultural participation of mother > father; for girls: influence of receptive cultural participation of mother > father; influence of active cultural participation of mother on girls > on boys; influence of receptive cultural participation of mother on girls > on boys.

^b Correlation (Pearson's r) between active cultural participation of mother–father: 0.62 ($p < 0.01$).

^c Correlation (Pearson's r) between receptive cultural participation of mother–father: 0.84 ($p < 0.01$).

families – that when Moroccan mothers are more culturally active, then so are their children. But owing to the lower level of cultural participation in Moroccan families, this effect operates much less frequently than in Dutch families. Moreover, Moroccan fathers do have some cultural influence on their children. As is the case with mothers, their cultural influence does not differ significantly from that of Dutch fathers on their children.

It is plausible that the influence of parents might decline as their children grow older. However, we did not find this to be the case. The relation between the cultural behavior of parents and that of their children was just as strong for children aged 14–18 years as for children aged 11–13 years. This suggests that older adolescents do not rebel against their parents' cultural influence.

There were, however, clear differences between boys and girls. The culturally stimulating role of mothers was far more important in relation to daughters than to sons, in both receptive and active cultural participation. Mothers appeared to exert a far stronger cultural influence on daughters than did fathers, although the influence of mothers and fathers on sons was more or less equally strong. This difference between the genders should not be overlooked in interpreting the overall finding that mothers exerted a stronger cultural influence on youth than did fathers (the difference was significant in receptive cultural participation, and a tendency in that direction was also found in active cultural participation). It is also important to bear in mind that there was a strong correlation between the participation levels of the two parents, and that this correlation was especially large in the area of receptive cultural participation.

4. Conclusion and discussion

The cultural stimulation program of the Dutch Ministry of Education, Culture and Sciences (2000) focused specifically on the cultural participation of ethnic minority youth,

because it is assumed that these youth do not connect well with established, state-subsidized culture. Against this political background, our first research question concerned ethnicity as a factor in cultural participation. Our findings do not demonstrate any disadvantage on the part of ethnic minority youth in active cultural participation. In fact, Moroccan and Turkish youth reported engaging in certain cultural activities, such as singing, more than Dutch youth. However, ethnic minorities showed low receptive cultural participation, particularly Moroccan and Turkish youth in certain classical domains (going to museums, theaters, and buildings of cultural interest) as well as popular domains (films, cabaret performances). We found roughly the same ethnic differences in cultural participation as found in the 1993 study, except for the low receptive cultural participation of Turkish adolescents, which in the current study more closely resembled the participation of Moroccan adolescents than that of adolescents with Dutch-born parents. Contrary to the acculturation hypothesis mentioned in Section 1, we did not find any indication of a growing resemblance in youth cultural participation between the different ethnic groups in the Netherlands. Additional research is needed to elucidate the process by which the gap between adolescents with Dutch-born parents and Moroccan and Turkish adolescents is maintained.

The acculturation hypothesis was also refuted in our answer to the second research question, which predicted high levels of participation for all girls compared to boys, regardless of differences in ethnic background. Once again our results roughly resemble those of the 1993 study. The main difference between the findings of the 1993 study and this study pertains to active participation: The difference in active cultural participation between Moroccan and Dutch girls was significant in the 1993 study, but not in the present study; also, the present study does not document the emergence of a significant difference between Moroccan girls and boys comparable to that observed between Dutch girls and boys (although there is a tendency in this direction). The differences between Moroccan and Dutch girls in participation in cultural activities outside the home are still great. The receptive participation of Moroccan girls and of Moroccan boys is very low compared to that of Dutch girls. The results regarding receptive cultural participation justify the extra attention being given to cultural participation by ethnic minority youth. However, the findings indicate that attention should also be devoted to culturally inactive Dutch boys as regards their receptive – and to an even greater degree their active – cultural participation.

As regards our third research question, it appears that the influence of the family on an adolescent's cultural participation is of greater importance than his or her educational level. The present findings show only very limited effects of adolescents' educational level and cultural activities at school on extracurricular cultural participation. Perhaps the addition of Cultural Studies to the curriculum in all schools in the Netherlands, including those at the lowest educational levels, has somewhat weakened the traditionally observed positive effects of educational level on cultural participation during leisure time. Moreover, the introduction in 1993 of a fixed curriculum for the first three years of Dutch secondary school, regardless of educational level, means that educational influences may be less strong at this stage; hence, effects of educational level on young people who are still at school may be more difficult to distinguish. In Dutch adults, there is still a clearly positive relation between educational level and cultural participation. [Van Eijck and Bargeman \(2004\)](#) observed an even larger effect of education on Dutch adults' high-culture participation in 2000 than in 1980.

Do the results of our structural model support reproduction theory as formulated in Section 1 (Bourdieu, 1997; Bourdieu and Passeron, 1977; DiMaggio, 1982), which holds that well-educated parents with ample cultural capital raise children who are in turn successful at school and more likely to acquire cultural capital? In the present study cultural capital was represented as the level of active and receptive cultural participation. In Section 1 we presented a model of youth cultural participation that devotes special attention to the personal network, i.e., the adolescent's best friend, mother, and father. Our findings indicate that mothers play a key role. Well-educated mothers tended to have children who were more successful at school (i.e., who received a higher level of secondary education). Mothers who had various cultural hobbies and who made ample use of cultural facilities raised children who did the same. The father's cultural capital is also important, but not nearly as important as the mother's, although there was a strong correlation between the participation levels of fathers and mothers, especially in receptive cultural participation. It also appears that young people and their best friends influence each other culturally, though this may be less important than the stimulation or modeling effects of mothers. The present results concerning the role of mothers are consistent with those of prior studies (Van Beek and Knulst, 1991; Nagel, 2002) and with those of our own 1993 study (Van Wel et al., 1996), in which we also emphasized the importance of mothers as compared with fathers (but did not consider the role of best friends). According to DiMaggio (2004), this role of women as 'cultural specialists' in many families is not a recent phenomenon, but dates back to the nineteenth century. In studies inspired by Bourdieu's cultural reproduction theory, however, gender differences were overlooked until recently.

Contrary to other research results (Van Iperen, 2003) and to the hypothesis formulated in relation to the fourth research question, we found no evidence that there is less cultural transfer between parents and their children in ethnic minority families than in other Dutch families. Neither did we find that parental influence in the cultural domain was weaker for older than for younger adolescents. Our multi-group analyses indicated that the father and the mother were equally important as cultural role models for their sons. However, mothers appeared to exert a far stronger cultural influence on daughters than on sons, and the mother's influence on daughters was much stronger than the father's. This is partly in line with the findings of Van Beek and Knulst (1991), who observed a particularly strong connection between the cultural participation of mothers and that of their children, girls as well as boys; also, Van Wel (1994) suggested that cultural transmission within the family proceeds along gender-specific lines: Cultural interests are passed on from father to son and from mother to daughter. The present findings suggest that the mother-daughter relation may be the key link in cultural reproduction from one generation to the next for ethnic minority and Dutch youth alike.

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